men although their first marriage has not been broken and no new marriage agreement has been concluded.

The data given above provides no confirmation to the Nkundó tribes under study of the statement made by Engels "Les Wangata [The Wangata]," Revue congolaise, 1910, p. 30) that among the Wangata "her husband can exchange her . . . she can make no protest." (1)

1. The Ekonda apply the term lisɔngɛ only to an exchange of daughters or sisters. They have a specific term: mɔtɔngɛ. Note, by the way, that certain Mbɛlɛ tribes who practice a true wife exchange designate it by the same name: lɔngɔngɛ.

Article VII. Purchase

The purchase of women is not practiced by the Nkundó tribes under discussion here nor even by the Bombwanja. The practice is to be found only among the Elinga. What is involved is not a marriage by means of a bride price but a real purchase: that is, a man buys a woman from her husband for a certain sum. He does not go through the woman's parents, as in an ordinary marriage by bride-price payment, but addresses himself directly to the husband.

In general it is the woman who makes the proposal that a man buy her in this manner. Sometimes a man wants to take a woman and first comes to an agreement with her. Before the Europeans arrived such a situation generally led to a war between clans or villages. After an arbitrator the palaver was settled, and the [218] purchaser paid the husband. Nowadays, since the Nkundó no longer dare to fight because of the legal sanctions that inevitably follow, when a woman abandons her husband for another man who wants to buy her, the parties involved bring the palaver before the judges. As the woman wants only her new husband, and as, on the other hand, war and the punishment of women have been abolished, the first husband has no

alternative but to yield and settle the amount to be paid. (1)

1. This is the situation that has prevailed up to the present. The native tribunals have been given the power to punish the offenders and they are therefore obliged to decree the punishments designated. In my opinion, if the legitimate husband brings complaint, the court should decide in his favor, not only because the purchase of a woman is involved but also because there is a question of polygamy, since the marriage has not been dissolved.

The amount that the purchaser must pay the husband corresponds to the amount of the bride price. But since the valuables do not pass through the hands of the woman's family, the first marriage has not been dissolved. Thus the word used is not *fɔkɔ́* but *isɔmbɛ́* (from the verb *-sɔmba*, "to buy"), a term applicable to any purchase. The Nkundó also say *lɔkɔ́mbɛsa mɔ́tɛ́ la ɛ́fɔkɔ́*, "he makes a purchase from the husband" (literally, "from the payer of the bride price"). Instead of valuables equivalent to the bride price, the purchaser may give the husband a live woman to replace the woman purchased.

It is a common practice for the husband, in that case, to demand a second woman as well, who is a wife or relative of the purchaser, as an *ɛ́kɔ́la* to the first. She does not have to be a real *ɛ́kɔ́la*, that is, a relative of the first woman. She is an *ɛ́kɔ́la* only in a very inaccurate sense. She bears a special name, *mokɛnɛ́ngɛ́*, "gatherer of pepper," to indicate her role as a helper serving the woman who has been handed over in payment or acquired by means of the purchase price.

Finally, the purchaser (*bɔ́mbɛ́lɔ*) must establish the bonds of alliance between himself and his new parents-in-law. For that purpose he makes a payment of valuables to them in addition to the original bride price. Although in practice [118] this payment

constitutes a bride price. It does not bear that name because its legal significance is not the same. The specific name for this particular payment is [illegible], from [illegible], "to add something new" and [illegible], "part." Thus the new husband adds a new alliance. The verb [illegible] or [illegible] is also used under other circumstances: for a new rib or leaf that is added on to a damaged spot on a roof, for a patch on a piece of clothing, or for something that has been newly introduced. The term therefore seems to indicate that what is involved is not a new marriage but rather a modification grafted on to the old one. Furthermore, the term is often used pejoratively. One may thus suppose that this custom is not very ancient, but of course the evidence is not sufficient.

It is apparent from the above that the purchase of a woman is a difficult and expensive operation. A kind of second bride price ([illegible]) and a second wife ([illegible]) cost quite a fortune. In the past the purchaser also had to pay indemnities to the families of men killed in combat (he might have had to pay as much as 100 rings, for the price of one "corpse" was 15 to 20 [illegible], the monetary value of a man) (1). One gets the impression that, though for reasons un-

1. Five dead were an enormous number in this sort of "war."

known to us the tribes in question permitted the exchange of women in their laws and customs, they did so unwillingly. And that the persons in authority increased the difficulties, so to speak, in order to frighten the amateurs and to reduce the number of ceps to an inescapable minimum.

One might wonder why men do not hesitate in the face of such great financial difficulties. Psychologically, it seems entirely plausible that a man who is in love with another's wife and has the necessary wealth would in his passion throw himself into such an adventure. Probably that is how the practice originated. But this likelihood does not explain the existence of a purchase, since the breaking of the first marriage and the commitment to a new one could just as well be

carried out by the ordinary means of the payment and restitution of a bride price.

At the present time cases of purchase are becoming increasingly rare. This change is probably due to a wider distribution of wealth which has produced a second change, namely that the man makes the initial proposal rather than the woman, who did so according to the ancient custom.

The woman's invitation is public. The man must reply for the sake of his honor. As in the case of an exchange among the Bolyé, he can only escape mockery by following through. If he did not, he would be considered a coward. He would be treated as a pariah; his wife (wives) would leave him, and he would no longer be included in the company of his fellows or at their meals.

Although strictly speaking the matter is outside the limits of this study, it seems to me that it is not irrelevant to mention, for the sake of comparison, that wife purchase is also practiced among the Nkundó (Waángat, Dengu) and the Bokongó (or Bolíli) between the Congo and the Bolobo. They call it by the same name -- iofeke, "purchase," and the man who buys is loofeki, "purchaser." The woman always invites the man by sending him a piece of the rib of a banana leaf, called a lonenge. She does this publicly: she hands the lonenge to a relative or friend and says to him out loud and in front of everyone, "Take this lonenge to so-and-so for me, so that he will come and buy me."

The same custom still exists in certain Ekonda settlements under the jurisdiction of the Bikaru section, such as the Lonyonyanga, Bonenge, Bolinge, Bakonja, etc., but not in the others, which are within the territory of the Kiri (Bull) section. It is called elofeneka or eofeneka (the root and [222] the meaning are the same as those of lofeki' and iofeke). Since these peoples are neighbors of the above-mentioned Nkundó and of other Nkundó living near the lake which bears their name (in a distorted form) and since, on the other hand, the rest of the Ekonda do not know this custom, we may assume that it was introduced to them by their neighbors to the north and to the west.

If we examine the data on the *geographical distribution of* this custom in relation to the ethnic nature of the practicing tribes, we are led to assume that it is not of Nkundó origin. The tribes that do not practice it do not approve of it among their neighbors; rather they hold them in contempt because of it, since for them a purchased woman is a slave. Thus they make fun of them saying, "They sell their women like slaves or goats." Could this be evidence that the Nkundó-Bolinga are not pure Nkundó, or that they have been subjected to foreign influences? Would the same be true of the riverain tribes who practice the purchase of women?

Article VII. General Conclusions

Having analyzed in detail the various forms of marriage and pseudo-marital unions among the Nkundó, we must now make a synthesis.

Certain kinds of unions are considered legitimate marriages by the Nkundó although they differ to some degree from the standard marriage because they are adapted to special circumstances. Among these are a widow's marriage with the heir of the deceased and a marriage by replacement after a divorce. As for ourselves, we can go along with native opinion, for when these unions are concluded in the normal fashion they involve nothing which is contrary to our conception of a valid marriage. (1)

> 1. This is true of a replacement after divorce *only* when the dissolution of the previous marriage is legitimate and valid in every respect.

Other types of union, on the other hand, are not considered by the Nkundó [232] to correspond, or only very imperfectly, to their idea of a regular marriage. The union of a widow with a distant relative of the deceased is only a sort of legitimate concubinage. The offer of a wife as security, the exchange or purchase of women, are considered as absolutely inferior forms of union. Therefore it is better to designate these by the term "pseudo-marital unions." For although they are accepted as legitimate by the tribes among